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302 hold this in one hand and work it very quickly, using neither water nor soap. Some use bits of broken glass when they can get them. Nowadays a few of the younger men have razors, which they use dry in the same manner. Body hair may be almost entirely absent or quite plentiful, with all intermediate conditions. An unusually hairy individual is shown in Pl. 78. Body hair is not depilated.

The features vary greatly, especially the nose. Besides the flat bridge and broad nostril of the Negroid type, there will not uncommonly be seen a nose with a high bridge and a pronounced profile. Some people have a peculiar curl of the nostrils which gives an almost Jewish appearance to the face. This was noticed by Guppy (1887, p. 216) and has been the subject of comment by many observers. The majority of people are only moderately prognathous, but extreme prognathism is sometimes seen, while a few are almost orthognathous. The lips are thick, but usually not everted as in the Negro.

In general these people are of medium height. The arms and legs are long in proportion to the length of the trunk. They are almost without exception spare of build, and usually very thin. I saw no men who could be described as stout, and only two or three women; these were stocky rather than actually fat. One girl with a tendency to plumpness was much teased by her companions, who called her 'Pogot'—'Fatty'. She seemed to take it in good part. [164] The children are nearly all pot-bellied, owing to malarial enlargement of the spleen; the condition is temporarily exaggerated by a full meal. In both sexes the body musculature is well developed, but the extremities are thin, particularly the legs, which have often a stick-like appearance, due to poor development of the muscles of the calf. The hips are slender, this being particularly noticeable in the younger women, and the buttocks are often very prominent in both sexes. Both men and women have an erect carriage, and many are very graceful in their movements.

144 There is no appreciable amount of white blood in the veins of these natives up to the present time. The very few individuals who possess it, all of whom are known to everybody in the neighbourhood, are either mission teachers or store assistants, and have come, 144 with their wives, from other islands. The local natives definitely deprecate admixture. The men do not permit their women to go 186 as servants to the white settlers, as the women of other islands are

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614 582 informants now advanced in years, it cannot be the result of a breakdown of the native system due to the influence of white contact. It is considered to be in order if the two parties to such a marriage belong to different villages, as is usually the case, since the custom is for the mate to be sought outside the village. But it occasionally happens that two people of the same clan marry even if they live in the same village, provided they do not belong to any of the prohibited relationships. It is clear that the tie of blood is considered more important than the clan, since the prohibited relationships are not confined to clansmen, as will be shown in a subsequent paragraph.

614 [611] 597 The children belong to the clan of their mother. To this rule there is no exception, in the ordinary course of affairs. But if a clan is greatly diminished in numbers it may adopt an infant of another clan, with the consent of the clan to which the individual belongs by right of birth. For example, if a Nakarib woman has a child, and the Naboin people wish to adopt it, a man of importance of the Naboin clan makes a feast and gives the child its name. It is then said to belong to the Naboin clan, and can use the Naboin decoration, and, if a boy, frequents the men's house belonging to the Naboin people. The members of his new clan are expected to provide for him in future, and though his mother may continue, if she so desire, to give him food beyond the time of suckling, she is in no way bound to do so. She must not continue to care for him [613] otherwise; this is the duty of the adopting clan, and would be undertaken by the women belonging to the lineage of the man who arranged the transaction and gave the child its name. For example, if the child has yaws, or one of the tropical sores no one ever [164] escapes, the people of his original clan must not tend or wash him, but this must be done by the adopting clan. The adopting clan must also find the wherewithal to provide him with a wife. If a female child is thus adopted, the adopting clan must arrange the marriage. The currency provided by the husband's people is paid to them, but the clan into which she was born is given a little of it, the amount being arranged by mutual consent. When the time comes to make the feast which reciprocates the payment, the clan to which she originally belonged helps the clan which took her over. The adopting clan provides for the marriage of her children, but such children may, if they please, revert to their mother's original clan. Thus Tatum, the mother of Matare, was born into the

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836 to me—there were none at Kurtatchi—the unmarried girls indulged in amours as freely as their married contemporaries, but, like them, were desirous of avoiding pregnancy, fearing that they would then be under some difficulty in obtaining a husband later. But in places where there has been little white contact, I incline to think, though the evidence bearing on the point is rather inferential than direct, that pre-marital intercourse is not, and never has been, prevalent among these natives, to any great extent, in respect of either males or females.

882 In this area the relations between the sexes before marriage
834 must be considered in the light of two circumstances which have a very definite influence upon them. The first is the elaborate hedge of taboos and restrictions surrounding the boys wearing the *upi*, that is to say, all the boys between the ages of about ten and about eighteen. These regulations are—or were at the time of my visit—still strictly binding, or, if broken, so much care is taken that the delinquents are seldom found out. Their effect is to keep the boys completely away from the women and girls, from which it follows that sexual advances are forbidden. One or two cases were reported to me of boys indulging in sexual intercourse while still wearing the *upi*, but they were spoken of with bated breath, and clearly considered very great enormities and quite exceptional.
[684] This, I believe, indicates the actual position and was not merely the statement of the conventional standpoint. In the olden days, discovery would have been punished with death for both parties.

582 The second factor to be considered is that boys, and more
● [164] especially girls, are generally betrothed while still quite small children. I was told of girls who had been betrothed 'before they had yaws', which indicates that they were hardly more than a year old, since this tropical skin disease falls to the lot of practically
584 every child about the age of one or two years. My informants told me that the match was generally arranged by the boy's father, but in practice I found that it was just as likely to be the boy's mother's brother who took the initiative, and that other people also might, and often did, take a hand in the matter. One day, while I was visiting the village of Tabut, a man from Ruri came over to see if he could get a certain young woman as a wife for his sister's son. He was prepared to give two strings of *imun* and some *beroas*, the amount of which he did not state. She was married to a man who is working at Timputs, but he said the man had divorced her,

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had two children. Pinari married her after Soli's death, and took one child. The other is being looked after by Soli's people at the village of Ruri. No children by Pinari.

11. Sang. Widow of Boie, son of Pinari's mother by another husband. At Boie's death Pinari took her according to custom. She has one child, whom Pinari also took. Pinari said she had no children by him 'yet'. She was still wearing her hair in the fashion of widows when I came to the village, but cut it while I was there. I think Boie had been dead for about a year.

At the time of my visit, Pinari was negotiating for a girl at the village of Ieta, on Buka, from which his first wife came. He had been over several times to try to get her, but she did not want him and always ran away into the bush. Her family were in favour of the match, so he probably got her in the end, but they were not forcing her. One night a storm blew down a large tree in the near neighbourhood of the village, blocking the road to it. Pinari told me that he was sure it was caused by magic made by Gomar to spite him, because she was angry that he wished to take another wife.

While he quite clearly prefers Kwimau to any of the others, Pinari pays quite a lot of attention to all his wives, and to their children, whether they are his own or belong to a former husband. He is generous with tobacco, and when he goes to a plantation to sell copra he often brings them some little present from the store.

As a further example of the marriages that take place among these people, I give the history of Sobak, who is a commoner.

Marital history of Sobak

1. Sobak's first wife was Sieli, to whom he was betrothed when both were young. They had no children for some time, then there was a son, who is now about ten. Sieli has been dead for some years.

2. His second was Niwuts, whom he married when he was older but she quite a child. He divorced her 'because she had a sore' (probably a tropical ulcer, these being frequent and often very bad in this region). He told me that he said to her: 'You go back to your own village, I don't want to be married to you.' There were no children. She now lives alone at Gowē, a village farther down the coast. She has not remarried.

3. His third, with whom he lives at present, is Tsonakets, who was previously divorced from Takoi of Hanahan (a village on the east coast of Buka), for what reason I do not know. Takoi told Sobak he could have her if he liked. Sobak consulted Pinari, who approved, and had her brought over to Kurtatchi. She has a son, now in his teens, whom

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Take portions of the roots of the tree called *wagag* (a small palm resembling an areca-palm, possibly another variety, but the nuts are not normally used for chewing). Scrape bits off these roots, and let the woman chew them with the betel-mixture, taking care to swallow some of it. 842 824

It is understood that a woman may be sterile without having taken a contraceptive. In the course of giving genealogies informants would sometimes remark, speaking of a childless marriage: 'This woman was not able to have children.' They clearly make a distinction, in talking about persons known to them, between this state of affairs and one in which 'the woman's belly was fast' because she had taken one of the medicines. There was no suggestion that the fault might lie with the male, provided that he was capable of performing the act of coitus. 842

In this connexion it may be added that I gathered from Government officials and missionaries with some medical training that there is very little venereal disease in this area. Such information as I received from the natives corroborates this. 164●

PREGNANCY

Pregnancy is suspected after the omission of one menstrual period, unless the woman has been taking one of the numerous medicines (described on p. 269) which are supposed to control or inhibit the flow, in which case she will wait awhile before accepting the fact of pregnancy. They do not keep any tally of the time, and their only means of judging when to expect the birth is by the appearance of the abdomen and breasts. 843 [805]

There is no ceremony such as takes place among the Trobrianders (Malinowski, 1929, p. 184) or the people of New Ireland (Powdermaker, 1933, p. 60), when a woman first discovers that she is pregnant. In the olden days she used to make a belt of a special creeper called *isus*, and to wear hanging from the front of it leaves of a particular plant (*nai'iar*). As every one now wears a loin-cloth, this practice is falling into disuse, though some women wear the belt and the appropriate leaves on the top of the loin-cloth. [292 824 177]

CEREMONY FOR PREGNANT WOMAN

Towards the end of the pregnancy a ceremony is performed with the object of ensuring easy delivery. The only estimate of

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845 the vagina during delivery and manipulate a mal-presentation—'suppose the leg came first', was the example spontaneously given to me. She used to chew some leaves with the betel-mixture and rub them on her hand before inserting it. My informant, a younger woman, did not know what these leaves were. She said that very few women knew how to do this; when it was done the child usually died but the mother got better, otherwise both child and mother died. Matēv, whose statement apparently refers to cases where there was reason to suspect that the child was already dead *in utero*, told me subsequently, in answer to a question, that she had never helped to deliver in this manner a child that was born alive.

163 It is quite impossible to obtain from the natives data sufficiently accurate to admit of calculating the relative frequency of death in child-birth. Several instances occur in my genealogies, but the possibility of errors of omission in that type of material is so great that I do not feel justified in using it for statistical purposes in this connexion.

844 Excessive bleeding appears to be very common. The women
824 dread it, and there are many prescriptions for its prevention and control. The only one involving plants which could be identified runs as follows:

> Take the root of *bariur* (*Crinum asiaticum*) and the bark of *karū* (*Barringtonia* sp.) and pound them together. Put the pulp into a pot and pour sea-water over it. Heat some stones and throw them into the pot. The woman must sit over the pot so that the steam reaches her genitals. She must also drink some of the water. Then her blood will dry up and she will be all right and will not be ill.

Of the others, some are used in similar fashion, in other cases the leaves are made hot and pressed on the lower part of the abdomen, or are chewed with the betel-mixture, some being swallowed, and the abdomen massaged with the remainder.

163 Miscarriages seem to be frequent, and still-births by no means
●164 rare. In discussing this question with Government medical officers it was suggested that the prevalence of malaria was probably at least in part responsible for this.

844 On the other side of the picture, there are, of course, many confinements where delivery is quick and easy. Another woman of Tabut, who had promised that I should be present at her labour, gave birth to her child before it was expected, and so quickly that no one in the village was called or knew anything about it till the

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844 enter it for three days after the birth of the child, and other men only after he has done so. But the latter part of this prohibition is not always strictly observed.

844 824 There are a number of medicines which are used to hasten a delivery if the women who are watching think it is unduly protracted. The following is typical:

Pupūna (*Pteris tripartita* Sw.)

Take some of the leaves, heat them, and rub them on the woman's abdomen. Squeeze the sap into water and give it to her to drink.

The use of other plants for the same purpose has been described in the account of the birth of Manĕv's child. One more may be mentioned because it seems to be comparable with our use of an anodyne:

Wanōnō (*Erythrina*, 'the coral tree').

When the woman feels that the pains are very severe, rub the leaves between your hands, mix them with water, and give the water to her to drink; it will lessen the pain.

A number of other plants which may be given to facilitate delivery could not be identified from my specimens. They are used in similar fashion to those above described, or in some cases are chewed with the betel-mixture and rubbed on the woman's abdomen. To the account of the use of one of these my informant added: 'If when the plant is pulled up it is found to have a forked root, the woman is carrying twins.'

[787 815]

RESTRICTIONS ON SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

843 There is no taboo on sexual intercourse right up to the time of child-birth, but in practice it is discontinued towards the end of the pregnancy, though the husband may continue to occupy the same hut until the pains begin.

846 After the birth, intercourse with the mother is strictly interdicted. The duration of this period of abstinence was described to me in various ways: 'Until the child can run about.' 'Until the child begins to talk.' The criterion most frequently cited was: 'Until the child has yaws.' This tropical skin disease falls to the lot of every child, usually between one and two or three years of age. I estimate that, in general, intercourse is not resumed until the child is at least two years old. There is no taboo on the husband's

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and its eyes cleared of any foreign matter, and a small portion of the magic mixture is placed in its mouth. This is to ensure that their eyes may see the hooks and their mouths hold the fish-hooks securely.

The steersmen and the men holding the bamboos chew the mixture while out in the *mon*, mixing it with betel-nut. The chewing of the mixture has a deteriorating effect upon the teeth. (Sowi's teeth appeared in a decayed state, as though an acid had eaten away the enamel.)

When the catch is made all the *mon* converge to the spot where the medicine man is seated, and he then counts the fish, taking one from each *mon* for himself. With these fish he afterwards makes a small feast. Payment made to the medicine man for working the magic is not retained by him but expended upon food for a feast amongst his relations.

It is customary that one man of each totem in a village has a knowledge of working the *atūn* charm. At present on Pororan there is only one man who has the knowledge. He is of the Kekeliau totem. The Naboin man has died without passing his knowledge on.

All the *tokamu* used in other parts of Buka come from Pororan, and the instruction is given by the man Sowi. His assistant is Hulaswat, who in turn will become the chief medicine man.

Other forms of bonito magic.

Besides the magic just described, which is intended to bring shoals of bonito into home waters, there are also numerous 'prescriptions' for obtaining a good catch for yourself or your own canoe. A selection of those in my collection is here given. The first comes from Petats, the others from Kurtatchi:

Bai'ia (a creeper, growing in the bush). (Petats dialect.)

Go to the bush and get some *bai'ia*. There are two kinds of *bai'ia*; only one of these will do, it is called *bai'ia hihisi holot*. Bring it to the house. Stick the fishing-rod (*hiat*) into the ground in front of the house, so that it stands up over the house. Get the leaf of a kind of betel-pepper, not the same as is eaten with areca-nut but something like it. Chew it with areca-nut and lime; it makes the saliva red just the same as the real betel-pepper. Spit it out on to the *hiat*.

When you go to the bush to get the *bai'ia* you must go straight to it, walking quickly; you must not linger by the way. You must not search for it, but go straight to the place where it grows, and pull it hard. As you pull it up, call out: '*Atēs Pī*'.

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Sometimes they say the hole is painful and will leave it empty for a few days.

Several people had the septum torn right through. This means that the unfortunate individual cannot wear a nose-piece any more, since there is no way of mending it.

Ears. The ears are pierced at about the same age as the septum, sometimes at the same ceremony, but this is usually considered to be too much for the child. It is done in the same way as the septum. I had no opportunity of seeing this operation. The people of Buka and North Bougainville bore one hole only. The Kunua people bore two small ones; they wear the bone of a flying fox threaded through both holes, and an ornament made of tortoise-shell and disks made of flat sections of a small shell (*popoli*) may be hung on it (Pl. 67, no. 6).

Where there is only one hole, a number of small tortoise-shell rings (*wawakut*) are worn, from which *popoli* are hung. All sorts of things may be put into the hole, rolled leaves, sticks of tobacco, &c. My empty cartridge cases introduced a new fashion. I have also seen shillings carried thus, though these are more likely to be placed inside the ear. The lobe is frequently greatly elongated; when in this condition a pipe stem may be put through the hole and the lobe twisted round to keep it in position. Any article put through the hole in the ear-lobe is called *wapis*.

Owing to the strain to which they are thus subjected, ear-lobes are often torn right through. There is no method of repairing this injury, but another hole may be made above it. The ear-lobe is never torn intentionally.

Teeth. There is no extraction, filing, or other manipulation of the teeth. Gaps are frequently seen, even in young people, but this is due to the teeth falling out on account of disease. The teeth are always, except in quite young children, discoloured by constant chewing of the betel-mixture.

Cicatrization.

Tattooing is not practised. It would not show to advantage on these dark skins. Its place is taken by cicatrization. There are two distinct types of marking. One may be put on at any time, and is done either by the individual himself or by a friend; the other is a ceremonial affair performed in childhood by certain recognized practitioners.

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159 (j) *Sleep.*

The incidents involving sleep all occur as parts of longer dreams (see Nos. 79 and 13, pp. 553–4), and are listed separately merely as illustrating the occurrence of the natural functions of the body in the dreams of these natives. I have no instance of a 'dream within a dream', such as is known among ourselves, nor of the experience, very common in my own dreams, in which the sleeper is aware that he is dreaming.

(k) *Trying to move and being fixed to the spot.*

The usual form taken by this dream, which is, I believe, not unfamiliar in the same form among ourselves, is that the dreamer, being pursued by some one with evil intent, finds that his efforts to run away result in failure. One man's description conveys the effect very clearly: 'I tried to run away, and I moved my legs, but I could not move from the place where I stood; all the time I was beside the same house, and I could not get past it.'

All the five dreams of this kind in my collection happen to be those of adult males, but probably this has no significance.

(l) *Physical disabilities.*

159 I have grouped together under this heading the 'recollected' ●164 dream of losing all one's teeth, mentioned previously among the 'type dreams', a similar one in which a young man, rather vain of his personal appearance, dreamed that he had no hair on his head, and three dealing with skin disease, to which, as has been previously stated, these people are very prone. That there are not more dreams, even in this small collection, on this subject may perhaps [147] reflect the comparative unconcern with which such troubles are regarded, it being a common thing for men and women to go about, and even to work, suffering from septic ulcers and other open sores which would completely incapacitate a white man, and to recover from conditions which, in the case of a white man, would, unless relieved by operation, undoubtedly lead to his death.

Examples are found on p. 564 (No. 9) and p. 556 (No. 52), where the stress is not on the sore but on the death of the sufferer, who, as a matter of fact, was actually an outstanding example of recovery under adverse conditions.

159 (m) *Urination and defaecation.*

In all four cases listed under this head the incidents referred to

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752 stayed inside the lime pot, making the lime powerful. Pari mixed some of this lime with the *rŏm* she had previously prepared. Taking some of this mixture in her hands, she massaged Ketar's side and shoulder, keeping her fingers spread wide apart and applying considerable pressure, with their tips, in a grasping movement, her wrist pressed against the patient's skin. She also manipulated the left breast with both hands. Ketar groaned frequently. Then Pari took a piece of flexible cane painted black on one side, passed it across her palm containing the *rŏm* mixture, smearing the unpainted side, and gave it to Ketar, who tied it tightly round her chest, just below her breasts, smeared side inwards. Then she got up from the verandah on which she had been lying and walked with some difficulty over to her own hut.

A young man came to me one day with a piece of cane tied very tightly round his chest, just below the armpits. He said he had "broken here" (putting his finger just below his left clavicle) while carrying heavy loads from his hut in the old village to the new one. He was being treated by another woman. She massaged him with powdered lime only, calling on several *wrar* (spirits of the dead) as she worked. The words used were: "*Sawē, Malia, Kerep* (names of *wrar*), *tar no ma pa* (look at) *takok* (broken (bone, limb, etc.)) *nen wasum ia* (and fasten it)." Massage was continued for several days, during which time he continued to wear the piece of cane tied round his chest. He then said he was all right again.

A dislocated joint (*tapatsik*) is reduced by manipulation.

Skin Diseases

●164 That there is a great deal of skin disease among these people is obvious upon the most casual inspection. There was hardly a native in the village of Kurtatchi who was not affected in some form or other. Several varieties are distinguished by native names and are differently treated.

164 757 Yaws (*Framboesia tropica*, native name *pukpuk*). Every child, without exception, suffers from yaws during infancy. It occurs generally during the second year and lasts for several months, during which the child becomes very emaciated, but

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picks up rapidly when the lesions have healed. Its appearance is expected and marks the end of the period of taboo on cohabitation following childbirth. Various methods of treatment are in use. The young leaves of *burustē* (*Eranthemum* sp.) are rubbed over the child's skin; they must afterwards be thrown away. Scrapings from the bark from the trunk of *katsian*, a wild species of areca-palm, are boiled with scraped coconut meat and given to the child to eat. A bundle of leaves of *kort* (*Terminalia catappa*, the Indian almond) is heated in the embers and laid on the sores. [These leaves contain tannin. In India "the juice of young leaves is employed to prepare an ointment for scabies, leprosy and other cutaneous diseases" (Nāḍkarṇi, p. 843).]

I saw no adult with the ordinary form of yaws, but adults frequently suffer from sores on the sole of the foot (*tōkapits*), which correspond to the descriptions given in medical treatises of "crab-yaws," a secondary lesion. They cause great pain on walking. One man would sometimes hobble round the village howling. He used to collect the hard dry mud from the nest of a species of ant, crumble it into half a coconut shell, add some smouldering embers, and blow on it till it smoked. Then he covered it up with the upper half of the coconut shell, in which one of the "eyes" had been pierced, so that the smoke from the smouldering mixture came out of the hole. He held his foot in the smoke as long as he could bear it and said that it gave him considerable relief. Another method of treatment is to soak the flowers of *bubuwiar* (a variety of nettle, *Fleurya interrupta*) in sea water, add powdered lime, and rub this mixture into the sore.

Tropical ringworm (*Tinia imbricata*, native name *ukisas*) is very prevalent. It is not considered a disease, no cause is known for it, and no remedies are used. The natives say that it does not hurt and that they do not take any notice of it, but they pick at the scales a good deal. A healthy person will pick scales from the skin of an infected one, apparently as a way of passing the time. Some people seemed to regard the patterns made by the scaly patches on the skin as an ornament.

Scabies (itch, native name *huskus*). Nearly every adult carries the lesions characteristic of this disease, some being

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757 almost entirely covered by them. It is disliked and several methods of treating it are practised. The usual method is to
[278] boil certain leaves, among them *kokui* (*Eragrostis tenella*) and *rurakot* (*Desmodium adhaerens*), to which must be added some bark and some scraped coconut meat; the resulting mash must be eaten by the patient, who then rubs his hand, greasy from carrying the mixture to his mouth, over the sores.

752 Ulcers and septic sores (generic word *pi*) are very common.
278 The smallest lesion of the skin is almost certain to become in-
[164] fected. They say that the sap of *wirtsun* (the inedible bush banana), if rubbed in at once, will prevent a cut from becoming a sore, but if the cut is deep this is not done, because it is too painful! The most general form of treatment is to chew the leaves or root of certain plants with the betel-mixture (arecanut, lime and betel-pepper, as chewed for pleasure) and spit the resulting mash on to the sore. Among the medicines used in this manner are the root of *takuruts*, a species of Croton (*Codiaeum variegatum*), and the root of *tui* (*Calophyllum* sp.). Sometimes heated leaves, sprinkled with lime, are rubbed over the sore, or their sap is squeezed on to it. The bundle of leaves must then be put up in the rafters. As it dries in the smoke of the fire below, the sore will dry up; if it is thrown away before healing is complete, the sore will break out again. Of several plants thus used, only one is identifiable, *sipsip* (*Pteris ensiformis Burm.*). The bark of the Indian almond (*Terminalia catappa*), stated by Dymock (p. 262) to possess astringent qualities, may be pounded in sea water and squeezed on to the sore. The sap from the leaves of *wuruts*, the native tobacco plant, is sometimes squeezed over a sore to keep the flies away from it.

Boils (*tsub*, *patsuk*) are supposed to be caused by the blood stopping in the skin. They are treated by applying hot leaves, by pressure, and by spitting over the affected area a mash made by chewing portions of various plants with the betel-mixture.
[171] Among the plants thus used are *towano* (*Achryanthes aspera*), which is used in Australia (Maiden, p. 150) and in India (Dymock, p. 538) for treating cutaneous diseases, and *mansisian*, a species of betel-pepper. The leaves of betel-pepper are used in India "as a ready dressing for foul ulcers, which seem to im-

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757 given and "by and bye the pain goes away." "*Komanî to kamits non*" ("My belly hurts") is a complaint frequently heard. The following methods of treatment are typical of their class:

757 278 "Make a bundle of the leaves of *mansisian* (a wild pepper, not that commonly chewed with areca-nut) and heat it in the fire. Make a little hole in the bottom of the bundle and blow through the bundle on to the place where the pain is. Then chew the root with the betel-mixture, undo the bundle, spit the chewed mass into it, wrap it up again and rub the patient's belly."

"Chew the roots of *karawinoa* (*Eranthemum whartonianum*) with the betel-mixture and spit on to the patient's belly. Put the chewed mass up in the rafters of the hut and leave it there. If you throw it away the pain will come back."

"Rub between your hands the leaves of *tengnamani* (*Justicia* sp.), add lime, and make them into a bundle. Heat this on the fire, but do not leave it there too long. Undo it, and with the leaves in your hands rub the belly, pushing downwards. Then do the leaves up into a bundle again and put it in the smoke in the rafters. As it dries, the pain will be eased."

[164 753] Constipation (*watob*) is very prevalent. No cause is known for it, but it does not seem to be ascribed to "poison." Most of the prescriptions involve the massaging of the patient's abdomen, "to send the faeces down and make them come out." Medicine is also given by the mouth, either as a mash chewed with betel-mixture or as a drink. The following is interesting as showing that these people are acquainted with the principle of the suppository: "Chew the roots of *gartan* (a species of Calamus) with the betel-mixture, spit the mash on to your hand and push some of it up into the patient's bowel. Chew another mouthful, spit it out, and put it into half a coconut shell. Pour some water over it and keep it in the house. If it is thrown away the medicine will not act."

[753 164] Diarrhoea (*tasokokoman*) is also common, and is ascribed to the eating of too much fat or greasy food. The remedies are usually leaves and roots chewed with the betel-mixture and swallowed by the patient. Massage with the chewed root of *wiakun* (*Wedelia biflora*) is also recommended.

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Dysentery (*tasoa*) is regarded as the result of "poison." It is diagnosed by the presence of blood in the faeces. It appears often in a mild form, from which the patient generally recovers. In the early stages it is treated with *wiakun* in the same way as diarrhoea. In severe cases, a drink is given, consisting of the bruised leaves of *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*) steeped in water mixed with powdered lime. The leaves of this plant are used medicinally in Fiji (Seemann, p. 129). In India a decoction is made of them for the treatment of diarrhoea, and they are also administered as a tonic and febrifuge (Dymock, p. 335).

The passing of blood with the urine is treated in the following manner: "Rub a quantity of the grass *manini* (a sweet-scented grass, *Cymbopogon* sp.) between your hands, mix it with water, then take out the grass and give the water to the patient to drink. Then chew the roots with the betel-mixture and massage the lower part of the patient's abdomen vigorously with the resulting mash in the palm of your hand. The patient must also chew some of the root with the betel-mixture and swallow it."

Fever

There is a good deal of fever, chiefly malaria. It is usually considered to be caused by getting wet and cold, and only very rarely connected with black magic. Both external and internal treatment is given. Typical prescriptions run as follows:

The leaves of *toanhenon* (one of the *Rutaceae*) or of several other plants are rubbed between the hands and placed in half a coconut shell filled with water, to which hot stones have been added. The top half of the coconut is replaced, with an "eye" pierced through which the steam will escape. The patient must hold his face in the steam and sniff at it.

When the fever is only just beginning, some freshly picked leaves of any one of various aromatic plants (unidentified) are rubbed in the hands and held to the nose of the patient, who must sniff at them. For later stages of the fever a package must be made of the leaves, heated in the fire, and then unfastened and held to the patient's nose; the leaves, held in the clenched fist, must then be pressed firmly on the patient's head in different places.

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A child who is always ailing is thought to be strengthened by being rubbed all over with water containing the leaves of *roabē* (*Desmodium adhaerens*). 757 278

Local Pain

A very general complaint is of "pains in the skin," which seem to be of a rheumatic nature. They are treated by tying a piece of fibre tightly round the place where the pain is greatest, and by rubbing the skin over the site of the pain with a mash made by chewing the leaves, roots or bark of any one of a number of specified trees or plants (all unidentified).

For pain in the back the bark of *winoa* (Canarium almond) is scraped, mixed thoroughly with hot water, and rubbed on the back. The bark of this tree exudes a resinous gum which is stated by Nāḍkarṇi (p. 153) to be stimulant and rubefacient. It may therefore be of use in this connexion as a counter-irritant.

Headaches are frequent, especially a pain between the eyes (*weswios*), which is attributed to the sun burning the eyes. As a rule, the sufferer first binds a piece of fibre tightly round his head. He may then hold his head over the smoke of *garian* (*Calamus* sp.) leaves mixed with powdered lime, or pour over his head water in which the leaves of *kakariuk* (*Selaginella flabellata*) are soaking, or rub his forehead with a bundle of the leaves of *mansisian* (*Piper* sp.) into which a little lime has been sprinkled. The crushed leaves of another variety of *Selaginella* (*S. imbricata*) are used in India as a local application to the head for the relief of headache (Nāḍkarṇi, p. 237) and the leaves of a species of *Piper* "are applied to the temples in headache for relieving pain" (Dymock, p. 600, quoting from Dutt's *Hindu Materia Medica*). [753] [164]

In some of the prescriptions it is necessary to collect the leaves after treatment and hang them up in the rafters. As they dry, the pain will disappear. When the cure is complete, the leaves are thrown away into the sea. 755

Ear Troubles

The usual treatment for earache is to take the leaves and root of the plant *togovo* (unidentified), rub them to a pulp, and put this into the ear. 757

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752 For an insect in the ear the root and stem-sheath of *gartan* (*Calamus* sp.) are chewed with *wiwi*, a small variety of areca-nut, 278 and *tsutsun*, the leaf of a wild pepper. The mixture is made into a bundle, wrapped up in *gartan* leaves and pushed into the ear, and is supposed to make the insect come out. The prescription ends: "Then you must catch it and show it to everybody."

Toothache

757 The roots of certain plants (unidentified) are chewed with the betel-mixture and the resulting mash is pressed against the aching tooth. These people seem to suffer a good deal from [W] toothache, and many, even when quite young, lose teeth through disease.

Throat Troubles

757 For sore throat, the root of *wanis* (*Paspalum conjugatum*) is 278 chewed with the betel-mixture and the mash given to the patient to swallow, or the leaf of *obōb* (Hibiscus) may be steeped in water to make a drink. For external use, the leaves of *tengnamani* (*Justicia* sp.) are made into a bundle, heated, and soaked in water. The patient drinks the water and the hot, wet leaves are rubbed on his throat.

If an object, such as a fish-bone, sticks in the throat, it is pushed down by massaging the outside of the throat with a mash made by chewing scrapings from the root of *karawinoa* (*Eranthemum whartonianum*). To ease the soreness, the patient swallows a lump of the already chewed mash.

For a cough, the patient is given a drink made by soaking in water the bruised leaves of any one of a number of different plants. The only identifiable specimen is Hibiscus, the leaves of which are mucilaginous (Maiden, p. 132), so the decoction may actually have a soothing effect.

Swellings

For a swelling behind the ear, take the leaves of *drangi*, hold them in the smoke, then press them hard against the swollen part. This will cause the swelling to go down. To send it to another person, get more leaves of the same plant and throw them in his direction: the swelling will go to him and you will be free from it.

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A swollen leg is rubbed with the chewed root of *towano* (*Achryanthes aspera*). This plant is reported by Maiden (p. 150) to be "administered in India in cases of dropsy." A condition which I take to be dropsy was thus described: "Suppose someone puts a certain bad leaf (the name of which my informant professed not to know) among some bananas and another person eats them, his belly becomes big just like a pregnant woman's and presently he dies." The word for this condition (*wagiug*) also means "pregnant."

Elephantiasis (*pu*) is not infrequent. There is medicine to relieve the pain in the early stages, but my informants did not know it. Afterwards "it is not painful, it only swells up and then we cannot make any medicine for it."

Epilepsy

I heard of one man who was subject to periodical attacks which would seem to be epileptic fits. They were described as follows: "He falls down on the ground, all his skin is tight, then he dies (*i.e.* becomes unconscious), plenty of white water comes up in his mouth. When he comes to life again he spits it out, he stays all right for a long time, then the sickness comes back again." The treatment is to make a mixture of the leaves of *karavetan* (a creeper) with lime and water. The leaves are rubbed over the man's body and he is given the water to drink.

Tuberculosis

The sickness *mupi'o*, which I take to be tuberculosis of the lung, is thus described: "The man is nothing but skin and bone, he cannot eat, he does nothing but spit, by and bye he spits blood, then he is all right for a little while, then he is ill again." It is thought to be caused by someone making "bad medicine" with the aid of aromatic plants or leaves which have been worn by the affected individual as ornaments. My informant had heard there was a treatment for it, but he did not know it.

Prevention of Sickness

Epidemics are thought to be caused by *urar* (spirits of the dead) who are angry with the people. Certain precautionary measures may be taken. The medicine used generally consists